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ABSTRACT

This exploratory study generated 14 hypotheses regarding behavior of administrative candidates, leading to the observation that during the process of candidacy a great deal of informal learning occurs that is not presently attended to by either formal preparation programs or by the processes and procedures through which educational administrators are certified. Also, the actual nature of the candidate's behavior varies systematically along both qualitative and quantitative dimensions during the period of anticipatory socialization. The concepts of anticipatory socialization, interpersonal orientation, perspective, situational adjustment, and organizational space provided the basic theoretical framework. Four contextual properties characterize the behavioral situation of candidates: (1) candidates were processed through this period of their career as individuals rather than as members of a group; (2) the organization tended to view this period as one in which candidates could be tested in "live" situtations; (3) the organizational role prescriptions for acceptable candidate behavior were ambiguous and not clearly specified, and (4) the behavior distances between candidates and members of the positive reference group varied systematically as a function of either individually initiated candidate behavior or organizationally directed changes in the role-set of candidates. (Author/DW)

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Socialization Processes Among Administrative Candidates in Public Schools

William D. Greenfield
Syracuse University -- 1975

Most studies of educational administration show no relationship between the amount of formal training and subsequent job effectiveness of practicing educational administrators. Bridges (1971) calls attention to the fact that (1) number of years spent in college (Hemphill et al, 1962 and Preble, 1962), (2) number of years devoted to graduate study (Lipham, 1960), (3) number of hours taken in undergraduate education (Schutz, 1966), and (4) number of hours in graduate education courses (Gross & Herriott, 1965) seem unrelated to an administrator's effectiveness as judged by superiors and subordinates. Bridges also notes what for professors of educational administration should be an uncomfortable contradiction; principals with less extensive formal preparation exhibit greater Executive Professional Leadership than those with more extensive preparation (Gross & Herriott, 1965). These studies, however, exhibit a systematic lack of attention not only to qualitative differences in formal preparation programs but also to differences accruing from informal, as opposed to formal, learning situations.

Problem Statement

Recent investigation by Blood (1966) suggests that the relationship between the preparation and performance of administrators cannot be adequately understood without giving attention to the qualitative and informal aspects of that preparation. On the basis of extensive interviews with eighteen newly appointed elementary school principals, Blood formulated a series of hypotheses focusing on qualitative differences in the informal activities of teachers desiring to become administrators. These hypotheses suggest a great deal of role-related learning occurs informally, prior to administrative appointment.

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Oneof Blood's hypotheses, "If a teacher makes the decision to become a principal, then he will engage in activities designed to Get the Attention of his Superiors,"[1] (p. 66) provided the impetus for the study reported here.

The research problem was two-fold: 1) to obtain a more complete understanding of GASing phenomena during candidacy; and 2) to develop a conceptual framework which would interrelate these new discoveries with Blood's earlier findings.

Procedures

This was an exploratory study. The open-ended methods employed in both collecting and analyzing the data were intended to facilitate the identification of social and cultural facts from which hypotheses about the process of administrative candidacy could be derived. The major task of the study was not to test, but to generate a theoretical statement about this process.

Data analysis proceeded concurrently with data collection. This procedure was followed for several reasons. Because the study was a search for relevant constructs to help clarify and understand more about the process of candidacy, it was expected that what initially seemed most important might assume a lesser stature as more data were collected. Conversely, what might at first appear to be insignificant or irrelevant data could, as the study progressed, assume a more central position in developing an explanatory model. The generation of substantive theory is such that one begins with what is available in practice and in the literature and then modifies that as raw data are collected and analyzed (Glaser, 1965).

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1. This is a construct originally discovered by Griffiths et al (1965) and subsequently used by Blood (1966) to refer to those activities undertaken by teachers to Get the Attention of Superiors; this will hereafter be referred to as "GASing" behavior.

Guided by the general framework of viewing administrative candidacy as a process of adult socialization, and given the developmental nature of the endeavor, data gathering procedures relied primarily upon open-ended interviews with teachers who were candidates for administrative appointment. A secondary data collection effort relied upon (1) a candidate biography, (2) a series of self-reports from candidates, and (3) candidate scores on the interpersonal orientation measure entitled the Mach V Scale (Christie & Geis, 1970). No initial specification was made regarding the exact number of candidates from which data would be gathered. The criterion of sufficiency of number was that point at which constructs could be developed to explain and understand the process being studied. Data collection terminated after the eighteenth candidate had been interviewed.

The Initial Framework: Striking a Bargain to GAS

It was expected that a clearer understanding of the individual and the organizational factors associated with the GASing phenomena could be gained by taking a closer look at the events and circumstances leading to this behavior pattern. Four major concepts provided the initial framework for data collection and analysis.

Initially, the investigation relied upon the theory of "role strain" developed by Goode (1960). Role strain is "the felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations. Role relations are seen as a sequence of role bargains ...in which each individual seeks to reduce role strain (p. 483)." The concept of "role strain" was thought to be suggestive of some of the antecedents of "GASing" behavior, the second concept. In brief, it was expected that

teachers who experienced strain in performing their role would strike a bargain to engage in GASing behavior with the expectation that this activity would help them gain entry to the positive reference group, in this instance, the administrative group. It was anticipated that other bargains might also evolve as a result of strain in the teaching role.

It was initially thought that to facilitate the role bargain(s) struck to reduce strain, teachers would alter their teaching role in some manner. It was expected that Katz and Kahn's (1966) concept of "organizational space" would help understand this phenomenon. These authors state that "organizational space...is the use of physical space for social objectives (pp. 63-64)." In a recent study, Ortiz (1972) identified three different components of organizational "space": working environment, interpersonal relations, and professional activities (p. 37).

Merton's (1968) concept of anticipatory socialization was the fourth component of the initial framework for data collection and analysis. This idea suggests that one result of holding a positive orientation to a non-membership group is that one begins to acquire, in an unconscious and informal fashion, the statuses and values associated with that group. It was felt that a consequence of these various role bargaining and GASing activities would be the development of work-world orientations similar to those found in the administrative group.

In short, it was expected that (1) role strain and role bargaining behavior would precede the process of anticipatory socialization, and (2) anticipatory socialization, through the GASing phenomena and the related alteration of organizational space, would simultaneously facilitate membership in the administrative group and reduce role strain. This initial

framework did not provide an adequate explanation of the data which emerged from the early interviews. It became apparent that the concepts of role-strain and role-bargaining were not sufficient for understanding or ordering the data.

Restructuring for Analysis: Socialization as Role-Learning

Responses by interviewees began to form patterns differentiating between 1) the manner in which candidates GASed, and 2) the factors which candidates prescribed as essential to their success in an administrative role.

While the concept of anticipatory socialization was helpful in focussing attention on the informal kinds of preparation these candidates experienced in common, it explained neither why the GASing behavior of some candidates differed systematically from that of others, nor why candidates differed systematically in their prescriptions for success in the administrative role. Data emerging from the early interviews were not immediately understandable in terms of the initial theoretical framework. Although sporadic instances of role-strain and role-bargaining were reported, these concepts were of little utility in explaining what appeared to be different, but related, patterns. At this point the search for a more powerful explanatory framework was begun.[2] The serendipity operating throughout this restructuring phase of the study was largely responsible for the framework which eventually emerged.

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2. See S. Seiber, "Theory of Role Accumulation" Am. Soc. Review, 39 (Aug. 1974), 567-578, for a critique of Goode's notion of role-bargaining.

The major breakthrough came as a result of more closely examining a set of test scores which had been gathered earlier; these were not originally expected to be used extensively in the study. The candidate scores on the Mach V Scale provided an unexpectedly powerful tool for helping to order the data at hand. According to this model, the greatest differences in behavior among individuals attaining high or low scores on the Mach Scale occurs in loosely structured situations. Data at hand indicated that the general situation of candidacy was extremely ambiguous--there existed no formal or explicit standards for candidate behavior.

While the study did not collect data with the intent of testing Christie and Geis' interpersonal interaction model, their theory seemed to be congruent with data at hand. Content analysis of interviews using categories developed from Christie and Geis's model did provide a basis for understanding the emergent patterns of 1) differential GASing behavior and 2) differential candidate prescriptions for later successful administrative behavior.

A difficulty confronting the researcher at this point in the restructuring was the lack of an integrating theoretical structure within which the aforementioned concepts and the emergent patterns in candidate behavior could be accommodated.

The next concept which then emerged was related to the different viewpoints candidates seemed to take toward the process of candidacy. Some candidates seemed to be very actively GASing while others were not as active in their GASing behavior. The idea of "perspective," developed by Becker et al (1961) in a study of students in medical school, seemed congruent with

data at hand. Although this concept had been utilized by Blood (1966) to describe the viewpoints acquired by candidates as a result of the process of anticipatory socialization, it had not originally been felt to be useful in the current study. As data collection and analysis proceeded, however, it became apparent that "perspective" would become an integral part of the final framework for analysis.

Another concept to be added to the evolving framework derived from the situational specificity of Christie and Geis' theory of interpersonal behavior. Becker's (1964) concept of "situational adjustment" seemed to provide an adequate vehicle for explaining, in part, the differential adjustments that candidates seemed to be making to the ambiguous situation of candidacy. Becker's discussion of situational adjustment suggests that the process of learning adult roles may be more fully understood by analyzing sequences of smaller and more numerous "situational adjustments." Becker (1964) notes that, broadly conceived, the process of situational adjustment is similar to Brim's (1960,1968) notion of "Socialization as role-learning." This observation carried the writer toward an examination of Brim's socialization paradigm, and resulted in the analytical vehicle used in this study.

Brim argues that role-learning is the content of socialization, the process through which a person is "prepared, with varying degrees of sucess, to meet the requirements laid down by other members of society for his behavior (p. 128) ..." What is learned during this socialization period depends in large part upon what has been learned through earlier experiences. Prior learning appears to condition an individual's awareness and knowledge of role

demands, his ability to learn and perform that which is expected, and his motivation to do so. The major sources of differential performance among a group of individuals in a given role "thus involves different degrees of ignorance of what is expected, different degrees of ability to learn and perform that which is expected, and different degrees of role-appropriate motivation (p. 144)"

Brim also claims that acquisition of knowledge, ability to perform, and motivation are always situationally specific (p. 147). Variations in social structure, then, play a large part in determining whether or not a person is exposed to learning situations related to certain kinds of roles. The candidate scores on the Mach Scale suggest that they have, in their previous socialization, acquired differential abilities to learn and perform in loosely structured situations. Under conditions of loose structure, candidates who scored high appear to have learned the ability to use their interpersonal skills in the initiation and control of structure and the instrumental exploitation of resources. Low scoring candidates, by contrast, appear to have learned to assume unstated limits on their behavior, accept the structure provided by others, and to become affectively involved in the interaction process. High scorers were described as having analytical interpersonal orientations; low scorers were described as having affective interpersonal orientations.

Candidates adjust to the situation of candidacy by using these previously acquired interpersonal orientations in learning and performing new roles. The perspective which emerges out of the manner in which the candidate adjusts to a transitional role appears to condition his behavior in

this situation and, subsequently, the fullness of administrative perspective achieved. The evolution of the perspective toward candidacy, and the fullness of the administrative perspective that candidates achieve, appears to be related to the three components of organizational "space." These three components are (1) working environment, (2) interpersonal relations, and (3) professional activities. "Space" is related to role and seems to condition the variation in social structure that is mentioned by Brim, and which was also observed in the situations within which candidates reported they behaved during candidacy.

Within this notion of socialization as role-learning, Merton's (1968) concept of anticipatory socialization became particularly important as it directed attention to the socialization phenomena occurring between the time the candidate develops a positive orientation toward the administrative group and when he actually gains membership in that group. The learning about the administrative work-world that occurs during this period is largely unconscious and informal, and appears to evolve through this process of anticipatory socialization.

The concepts of anticipatory socialization, situational adjustment, inter-personal orientation, perspective, organizational space, GASing, and socialization as role-learning formed the new theoretical framework for analysis of candidate interview content. The diagram in Figure 1 suggests the hierarchical and temporal relations among these ideas.

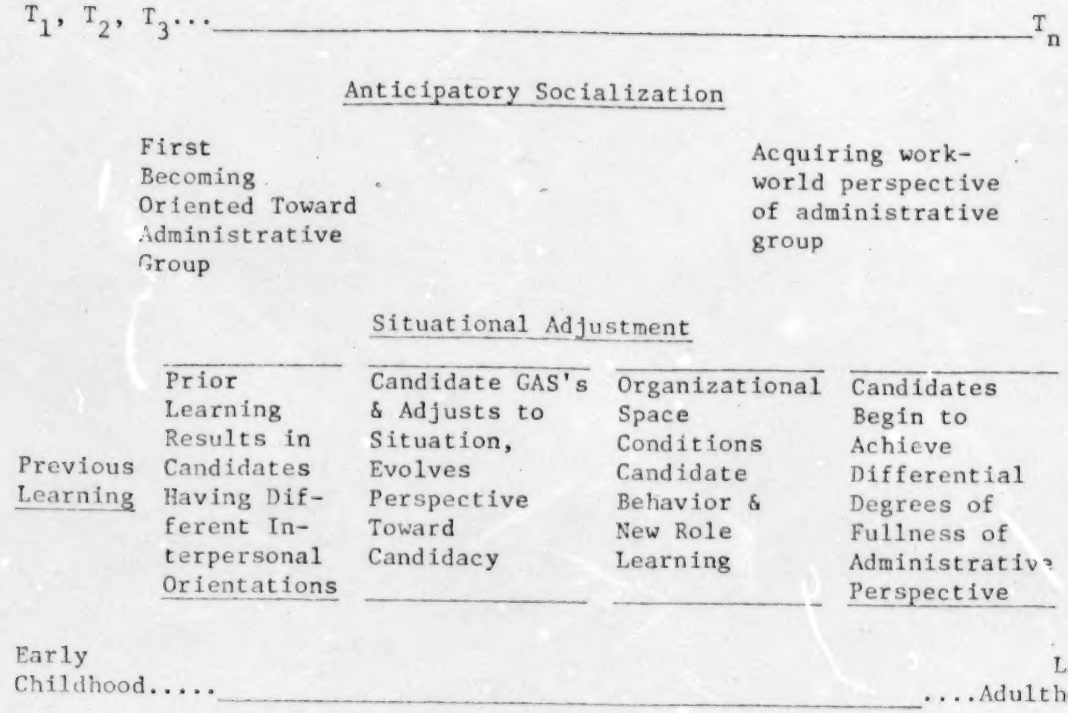
T_1, T_2, T_3...
T_n
Anticipatory Socialization
First Becoming Oriented Toward Administrative Group
Acquiring work-world perspective of administrative group
Situational Adjustment
Previous Learning
Prior Learning Results in Candidates Having Different Interpersonal Orientations
Candidate GAS's & Adjusts to Situation, Evolves Perspective Toward Candidacy
Organizational Space Conditions Candidate Behavior & New Role Learning
Candidates Begin to Achieve Differential Degrees of Fullness of Administrative Perspective
Early Childhood.....
....Adulthood
Late

Figure 1: Candidacy and the Process of New-Role Learning

Results

The constant-comparative method of data collection and analysis eventually lead to the formulation of the hypotheses reported here. These hypotheses are data-based statements about the relations among the individual and organizational variables discovered through the data collection and analysis process discussed previously. The actual empirical data base undergirding each hypothesis has not been reported in this paper.

Candidate scores on the Mach V Scale assumed an unexpected importance in explaining the different behavior patterns emerging from the interview content. The test scores themselves appeared to reflect variations in the extensiveness of the interpersonal role-repertoire

characteristic of candidates. Those scoring high seemed to have a more extensive repertoire than candidates scoring low on the Mach Scale.

Differences in the extensiveness of the interpersonal role-repertoire of candidates were presumed to result from differences in their early-life socialization experiences. Candidates with the most extensive repertoire of interpersonal role responses characteristically tended to:

1) initiate and control structure in interpersonal interaction;
2) instrumentally exploit resources; and
3) cognitively test the behavior limits of the situation in which they interacted (Christie & Geis, p. 351).

Candidates who appeared to possess a less extensive repertoire of interpersonal responses tended to:

1) accept the interpersonal and situational structure provided by others;
2) assume there were limits on their behavior, even though these limits were not stated; and
3) affectively become involved in interpersonal interactions to the point of distraction from pre-defined goals (Christie & Geis, p. 351).

Candidates with the more extensive interpersonal repertoire will hereafter be referred to as those possessing an analytic interpersonal orientation. Those with a less extensive repertoire will be referred to as having an affective interpersonal orientation.[3]

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[3]These two labels discriminating among candidate interpersonal orientations are intended to be purely descriptive--it's not suggested that, of itself, the analytic or the affective orientation are to be valued differently. However, there do appear to be situations in which one style seems to be consistently more appropriate than the other. This seems especially true with respect to the situation of candidates aspiring to administrative appointment in the metropolitan school system within which this study occurred.

Differences in candidate behavior appeared to be partially the result of variations in the extensiveness of their individual repertoire of interpersonal role-responses. With regard to these differences among candidates, it is hypothesized that:

H_1 Candidates holding an analytic interpersonal orientation will adjust to the situation of candidacy by utilizing their interpersonal skills to initiate and control interaction with members of the administrative group, and, hence, will enhance their candidacy.

H_2 Candidates with an affective interpersonal orientation will adjust assuming unstated limits on their interpersonal behavior and by accepting the structure provided by others; they will not initiate or attempt to structure interpersonal interaction to enhance their candidacy.

It appeared that candidates engage in behavior designed to Get the Attention of Superiors in order to reduce the behavior distances between themselves and members of the positive reference group, thereby increasing their visibility to members of that (administrative) group. There were, additionally, both quantitative and qualitative differences in the actual nature of the GASing behavior of candidates. It is hypothesized that:

H_3 If the situation of candidacy is ambiguous, and the role of "candidate" not clearly specified, then candidates will adjust differentially and, hence, will evolve different perspectives toward the process of candidacy itself.

Candidates holding an analytic interpersonal orientation and having a high degree of motivation to become a full member of the administrative reference group appeared to GAS in a very aggressive and persistent manner. They appeared to adjust to the ambiguity of candidacy by assuming an "assertive" perspective toward their role as candidate. Candidates who were not strongly motivated to join the administrative group, or who held an affective orientation, seemed to GAS with less enthusiasm. Their adjustment resulted in the development of a more "complacent" perspective toward candidacy than was

found among their highly motivated, analytically oriented peers.[4] It is hypothesized that:

H_4 If, in adjusting to the ambiguous situation of candidacy candidates have a positive orientation of high intensity toward membership in the administrative group and an analytic interpersonal orientation, then they will evolve an assertive perspective toward the process of candidacy.

H_5 If, in adjusting to the ambiguous situation of candidacy, candidates are highly motivated to join the administrative group, but have an affective interpersonal orientation, then they will evolve a complacent perspective toward candidacy.

H_6 Candidates who are not highly motivated toward membership in the administrative group, regardless of the nature of their interpersonal orientation, will evolve a complacent perspective toward candidacy.

The nature of the candidate's perspective toward the process of candidacy appeared to regulate to a considerable degree the amount of attention and visibility attained by candidates relative to members of the administrative group. This difference in socialization outcomes among candidates holding assertive and complacent perspectives toward candidacy appeared to result from both qualitative and quantitative differences in the nature of their GASing activity. Assertive candidates engaged in more varied activities, more frequently, than complacent candidates.

The general aim of these GASing activities seemed to be to reduce the behavioral distance between members of the administrative group and candidates.

4. There is not a one-to-one correspondence between having an analytical orientation and being an assertive GASer. Motivation appears to intervene and condition the nature of the GASing behavior of the analytically oriented candidate. On the other hand, affectively oriented candidates always seemed to GAS in a complacent manner, regardless of degree of motivation to become a member of the positive reference group.

This distance or organizational "space", seemed to be a function of the candidate's working environment, interpersonal relations, and professional activities. Candidates evolving an assertive perspective toward candidacy appeared to utilize these three components of "space" to increase their proximity and, hence, their visibility to members of the administrative group. Candidates evolving a complacent perspective did not seem to use these three components in this manner; thus they did not appreciably increase their visibility to members of the administrative group. With regard to visibility it is hypothesized that:

H7 If candidates hold an assertive perspective toward candidacy, they will maximize their organizational space in an effort to increase their proximity to members of the administrative group, and, hence, will increase their visibility to members in that group.

H8 If candidates hold a complacent perspective toward candidacy, they will either maintain or reduce their organizational space and will not gain high visibility to the administrative group unless that visibility is provided by virtue of their assigned organizational space.

It also appears that as candidates increase their visibility to members of the administrative group, they are able to gain more frequent and more extensive access to that group's work-world.

Some candidates were able to increase their visibility and their access by altering the three components of their organizational space. Other candidates already appeared to have been allocated organizational space that provided an equivalent level of visibility to the members and access to the work-world of the administrative reference group. The organizational space attendant to some primary roles appeared to provide candidates with more visibility and more access to members of the administrative group than was

available through the "space" allocated to other roles. For example, candidates assigned to the organizational role of guidance counselor or extra-curricular activities director had, solely by virtue of the "space" allocated to their primary role, more visibility and more access to members of the administrative group than did candidates assigned to the role of classroom teacher. Attendant to increasing visibility was increased access to the work-world of members of the administrative reference group. It was hypothesized that:

H_9 If candidates hold an assertive perspective toward candidacy, their GASing activities will be characterized by behavior that broadens the horizontal and vertical scope of the working environment, increases both the intensiveness and the extensiveness of interpersonal relations with members of the administrative group, increases the range and the frequency of involvement in professional activities with members of the administrative group, and, hence, increases their access to the administrative group.

H_{10} If candidates hold a complacent perspective toward candidacy, their GASing activity will be characterized by behavior that accepts and does not increase or otherwise attempt to maximize the organizational space attendant to their primary role and, hence, does not increase their access to members of the administrative group.

Some candidates were able to utilize their repertoire of interpersonal skills to reconfigure their working environment in a manner that increased both the frequency and the closeness of their involvement in professional activities with members of the administrative group. Through these activities candidates seemed to become increasingly exposed to the pressures and demands attendant to the administrative work-world. With regard to the function of access, it is hypothesized that:

H_{11} If candidates hold an assertive perspective toward candidacy, they will engage in behavior that increases their visibility to members of the administrative group, and, hence, increases the likelihood that they will gain high access to the administrative work-world and that, subsequently, they will acquire the attendant administrative perspective.

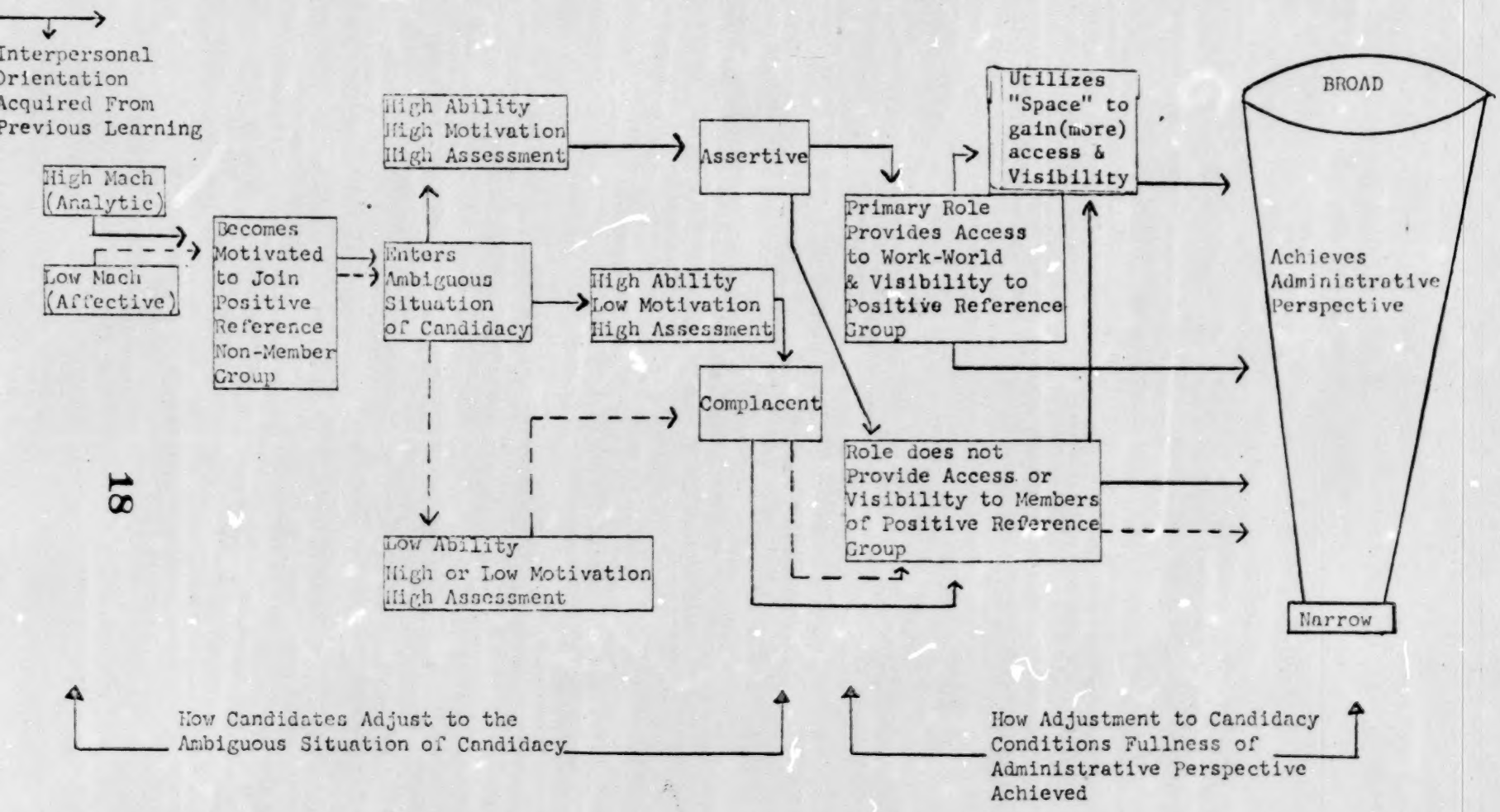
H_{12} If candidates hold a complacent perspective toward candidacy, they will not deliberately engage in behavior to increase their visibility and, hence, will not gain high access to the administrative work-world.

H_{13} Candidates who are able to gain extensive access to the administrative work-world will achieve fuller administrative perspective than candidates gaining less access.

H_{14} Candidates evolving an assertive perspective toward candidacy will attain a more complete anticipatory socialization than will candidates evolving a complacent perspective toward candidacy.

The relationships posited in the foregoing series of hypotheses are displayed in Figure Two. Two major observations seem warranted: (1) a great deal of informal learning occurs during the process of candidacy which is not presently attended to by either formal preparation programs or by the processes and procedures through which educational administrators are certified and (2) the actual nature of the candidate's behavior varies systematically along both qualitative and quantitative dimensions during the period of anticipatory socialization.

Figure Two: SITUATIONAL ADJUSTMENT AND UTILIZATION OF "SPACE"


Interpersonal Orientation Acquired From Previous Learning
High Mach (Analytic)
Low Mach (Affective)
Becomes Motivated to Join Positive Reference Non-Member Group
Enters Ambiguous Situation of Candidacy
High Ability High Motivation High Assessment
Assertive
Utilizes "Space" to gain(more) access & Visibility
Primary Role Provides Access to Work-World & Visibility to Positive Reference Group
High Ability Low Motivation High Assessment
Complacent
Role does not Provide Access or Visibility to Members of Positive Reference Group
Low Ability High or Low Motivation High Assessment
BROAD
Achieves Administrative Perspective
Narrow
How Candidates Adjust to the Ambiguous Situation of Candidacy
How Adjustment to Candidacy Conditions Fullness of Administrative Perspective Achieved

Discussion

The theoretical formulation suggests that much of what takes place during the process of candidacy is informal and unplanned. Although the situation encountered by the candidate appears to be very loosely structured, the behavior engaged seems to be far from random. Even though processed individually, it seems that there are definite behavior patterns among candidates. They appear to turn to members of the administrative group for knowledge and advice relative to candidacy. It is likely that this results in a patterned transmission of administrative culture and norms to prospective members. If the organization is seeking to equip new members with novel and creative modes of administrative behavior it seems that the serial character of the current socialization process would make the introduction of change difficult, at best.

The special serial character of occupational socialization in education deserves emphasis because it is evidenced in practically the entire "life-cycle" of educational personnel. As an occupational group, educators appear unique in this respect. From the time the individual enters his first school as a student until he begins teaching or gains administrative appointment, he is exposed to the influence of the group he eventually joins. The difficulty of introducing new modes of behavior under such circumstances seems apparent.[5]

At the juncture where it is presumed most likely that administrative candidates might learn new skills relative to their prospective role, little coordination is evident. Candidates appear to hold most formal "university

5. See, concerning medicine, G. Stelling and R. Bucher, "Vocabularies of Realism in Professional Socialization," Social Science and Medicine, 7 (1973), 661-675.

coursework" in low esteem relative to their opportunities for practical, "hands-on" experience. Equally, university training programs operate almost as if the candidate's experience in schools doesn't occur. There appears to be little recognition of or coordination with the learning which takes place in an informal, unwitting manner during candidacy. Effective inter-institutional cooperation in the training and preparation of administrators, or at the very least a recognition by formal training programs of the learning which occurs during candidacy, would increase the likelihood of producing effective administrators. A "half-step" toward such cooperative training of administrators might be the development of diagnostic capabilities by training agents located in both the university setting and in the public school setting. The ability to assess what candidates have already learned as well as that which they have yet to learn might result in more effective and efficient training than is currently available.

A related measure which would seem to complement the phenomena described in this paper might be to limit the pool of eligible "formal" trainees in educational administration to those personnel who have already demonstrated that they possess the interpersonal repertiore that seems requisite to success in many administrative positions. Empirical studies by Foskett (1968), Goldhammer (1971) and Wolcott (1973) suggest that the role of the administrator in public schools is extremely ambiguous. The interpersonal skills requisite to effectively gaining the commitment and normative compliance of adults in such social systems appear to be skills which most successful school administrators are likely to have acquired long before they enter such roles. Formal training programs might then more adequately focus

on the development of technical skills among individuals who have already demonstrated that they possess the social skills for working with adults in a complex organization.

Summary

Socialization into adult roles appears to be conditioned by the situationally specific behavior of individuals in interpersonal interaction, in particular, interaction involving members of the reference group to which they aspire. Qualitative differences in the context of the situation and differences in the extensiveness of the role-repertoire individuals bring to that situation will theoretically result in corresponding differences in learning outcomes. In the present study, candidate behavior was conceived as a function of (1) the richness of the interpersonal repertoire brought to the situation of candidacy, and (2) contextual properties of the situation itself.

Four contextual properties characterizing the behavioral situation of candidates were: 1) candidates were processed through this period of their career as individuals rather than as members of a group, 2) the organization tended to view this period as one in which candidates could be tested in "live" situations, 3) the organizational role prescriptions for acceptable candidate behavior were ambiguous and not clearly specified, and 4) the behavior distances between candidates and members of the positive reference group varied systematically as a function of either individually initiated candidate behavior or organizationally directed changes in the role-set of candidates.

The concepts of anticipatory socialization, situational adjustment, interpersonal orientation, perspective, organizational space, GASing, and socialization as role-learning provided an explanatory framework for understanding the process of administrative candidacy in a metropolitan public school system.

The apparent importance of variations in both the differential interpersonal orientations of candidates and the varying situational contexts in which candidates behave suggests that studies designed to test and verify these phenomena are warranted. In addition to such research, it seems that a similar study of practicing school administrators would produce additional important empirical knowledge about the behavior of educational administrators.[6]

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6. Recent studies by Bruce Buchanan (1974) and Francis Mascaro (1973) suggest the utility of applying these and other behavioral science concepts to the study of administrative behavior in complex organizations.

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